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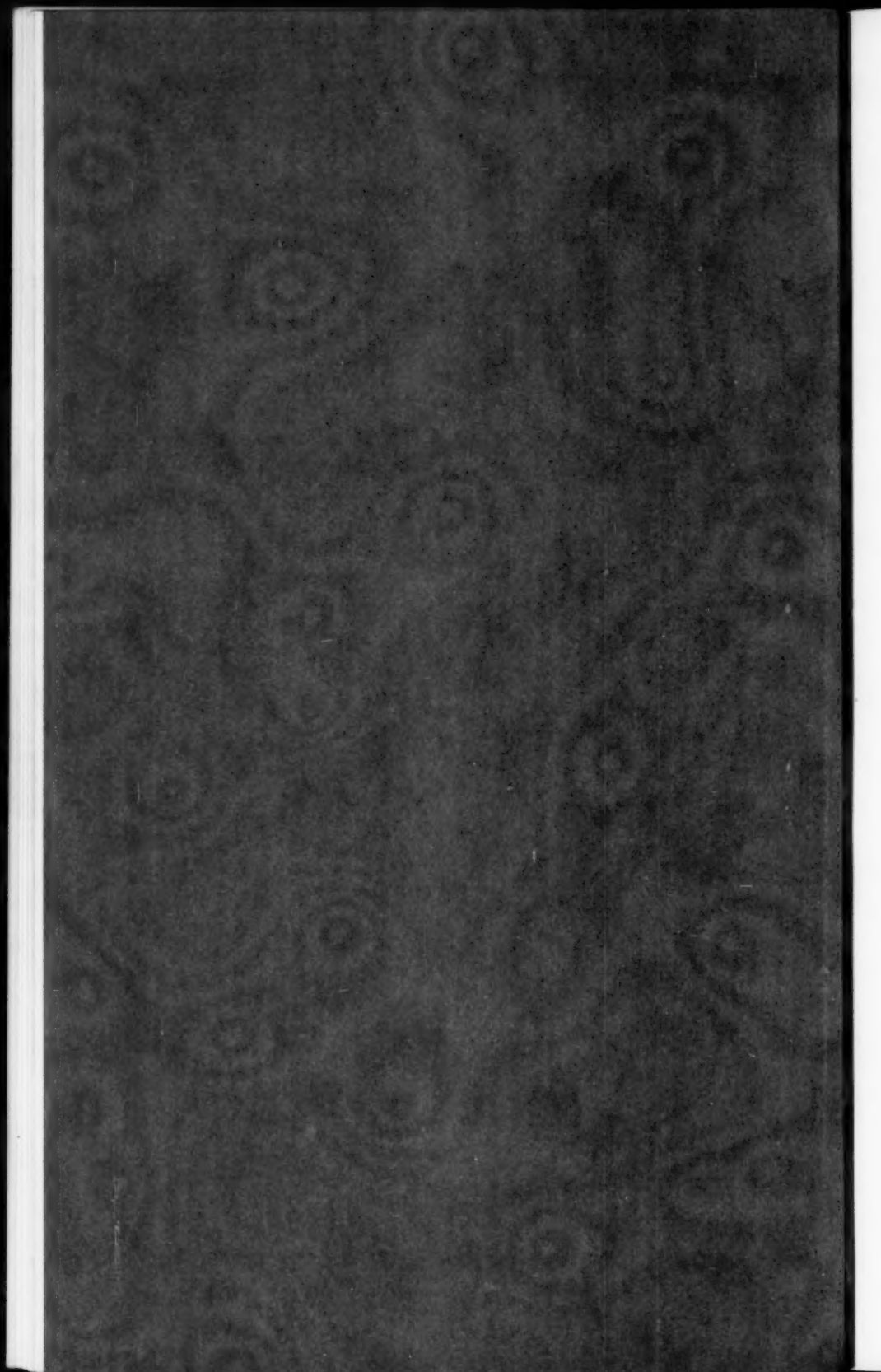
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Editorial Notes

UP AND down the Pacific Coast the Oriental Survey operating under the direction of five regional committees and the Institute of Social and Religious Research of New York City, with Dr. Robert E. Park of the University of Chicago in charge, is already producing a rebirth in the methods of social research. Interesting facts basic to the racial conflict situation on the Coast are being made objective and when widely disseminated will serve to relieve the racial tensions and make progress possible.

ASSISTANT UNITED STATES Attorney General Mabel Walker Willebrandt is quoted as saying that there is one important thing in which the law-abiding citizens of the United States can be of the greatest help in the enforcement of the prohibition law, and that is helping to refute the statement that prohibition is a failure.

THE REPORTS of the Walsh and Wheeler investigations in Washington have shaken the people's faith in the false type of democracy so prevalent in this country. It is the abuse and misuse of democracy rather than a rightly used democracy which apparently is causing the trouble. Autocratic attitudes are flourishing under the guise of democracy and trying to bring it into disrepute. The demand is rising for a real socialized type of democracy where human attitudes are characterized primarily by social and civic responsibility rather than by individual gain.

THE MOVEMENT to outlaw war is gaining momentum. War is now being proclaimed one of the great sins of civilization against its young men, its mothers, and its morals. Only a few years ago it secured support, because of its claim to make the world safe for democracy; in reality it decreased democracy. In 1917, it put out the slogan: a war to end war. Instead, it increased the war spirit and the hate spirit in the world. "Outlawing war" is in danger not so much from its military enemies as from division within its own advocates. There are those in the United States who advocate outlawing war by the United States leading the way in legally repudiating war and in destroying war materials. Others urge that the United States lead the way in agreeing to make war illegal, providing that the other leading nations of the world would do likewise. The difficulty in the way of the first method is that the United States would be put at the mercy of the powerful and heartless military forces of other countries. These forces would become ruthless in dealing with weaker peoples anywhere if they knew that the United States would not fight. The weakness in the second method is found in the Franco-German hatreds and the militarism of Mussolini, as well as the absence of the United States (with reservations) from the League of Nations. Everything considered the second method is probably the sounder and needs to be pressed vigorously through public opinion, Congress, and the Chief Executive.

NOW AND THEN*

CHARLES HORTON COOLEY

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IT HAS occurred to me that it might not be inappropriate in an elderly sociologist to offer some impressions regarding the state of the subject when he began to study it, contrasted with that at the present time, and perhaps to draw some inferences regarding the nature and value of what has been accomplished during the interval.

If we go back, then, to about 1890 we find that for most American students sociology was to be sought in the works of Herbert Spencer, supplemented, perhaps, by the earlier writings of Lester F. Ward, although the latter were very little known.

I will not attempt at this time to estimate the contribution of Herbert Spencer — he certainly had a vast and on the whole salutary influence — but I will call attention to one aspect of his work which is pertinent to what I have to say. His sociological theories, it seems to me, were not well suited to be the starting point for detailed scientific investigation, on account of the somewhat remote and analogical character of their relation to actual life. They did not spring primarily from social observation; they sprang rather from the wish to extend over the social field conceptions drawn from physics and biology. As they were not tools forged to deal with social facts they could not readily be used for the purpose by other students.

I take it, then, that the younger generation of students

* Remarks at the annual banquet of the American Sociological Society, held in Washington, December, 1923.

at that time felt, vaguely perhaps, that the right start had not been made, that there was no practicable basis for applying the evolutionary ideas of the time to human life, and that it still remained to build a satisfactory framework upon which the growth of a modern social science could proceed.

It was natural, therefore, that this second generation should occupy themselves for the most part with somewhat extensive studies, rather than intensive, at the same time endeavoring, by a first-hand and disinterested study of facts, to ensure that their generalizations should have the character of working scientific hypotheses.

Now it is my suggestion that this has, on the whole, been the fact, that the principle endeavor and achievement of the generation to which I belong has been to build up a framework of workable hypotheses, to cover the field of sociology with a network of provisional generalizations, not firmly established but sufficiently supported by fact to invite verification or modification by more limited and intensive studies.

Of course this was too big a task to do completely or finally, but we felt that it had to be done, because the whole subject was so organically connected that our work could not safely advance far at any one point unless it was supported by a corresponding advance all along the line.

My point is, you see, that thoroughness of detailed investigation was not at that time a practicable ideal, because if attempted, it would have proved unsound for lack of sound general premises to base it on. We all feel, I think, that a good deal of detailed work has actually been done, by biologists or others not in touch with the progress of sociology, which is nearly or quite worthless because not soundly based.

Coming then to what I may call the third generation of

American sociologists, the student of today has ample reason to find fault with the work of his elders if he judges it from the point of view of that thorough working out and verification of each detail which is one of the tests of scientific method. At the same time he has reason, perhaps, to be thankful that they did not devote themselves to precisely that aspect of the scientific ideal at a time when the more urgent need was to formulate a system of problems. As it is we have a literature which leads the student directly into the maze of social fact which surrounds him and offers him clues which he may follow until he is ready to drop them and make a trail of his own.

At the present time no man with any gift for research need lack a problem, and in working out that problem he may have the assurance that he is one of many who are working cooperatively and are prepared to appreciate and fulfill one another's endeavors. This cooperative situation is due largely to the possession of a common background of what I may call factual ideas, derived mainly from a study of the contemporary literature of their subject.

Concerning the future I ought not perhaps to speak. The rising generation is the best judge as to what its task is. It would seem, however, if what I have said is sound, that not much of its best energies is likely to get into general works on the principles of sociology. Text-books we shall no doubt have — a constant flow of them — and that is well because a teacher can be most effective when he uses his own book. But I conceive that original work is likely to take the direction of more limited but thorough studies. This work will be theoretical — I for one am not interested in any work that is not — but the theory will spring from a more circumscribed and penetrating study of fact. There is room for many such books, and, if they are really well done, a technical public ready to appreciate them.

Let me ask, finally, whether the time has not come for a more stringent criticism of our product? We elders have "got by" and now we would like to raise the standard. When everybody was trying to do everything we were all so superficial that no one ventured to cast stones at any one else. But the new generation will not tolerate "arm-chair sociology." There is altogether too much foundation for the impression prevailing in other fields that work in sociology is hasty and pretentious. Let us have no journalism, but insist that whatever a man's subject, or whatever his conception of scientific method, he give us no work that is not, in one way or another, a thoroughly good job.



It is not unfair to say that a large part of city planning, too large a part in fact, consists of the correction of mistakes. Lewis, *The Planning of the Modern City*, p. 27.

THE providing of homes for the lower economic strata, whether of industrial or office workers, has been taken over as a public utility (in Western Europe). Edith E. Wood, *Housing Progress in Western Europe*, p. 179.

It is not "up to" the laboratory bacteriologist to get out and conduct a public health campaign, any more than it is "up to" the sociologist to become a deputy marshall and chase down the insane criminal. A. B. Wolfe, *Conservatism, Radicalism, and Scientific Method*, p. 317.

THE MISSION of millions of human beings, remote in time and space, all working together to make the earth a better home for mankind, is surely one to stir the deepest reaches of the imagination. And this is the vision that is necessary to enable us to see within our daily round of experiences anything except routine utilitarian values. Hartman, *Home and Community Life*, p. 6.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SOCIAL RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SERVICE

ROBERT E. PARK

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GENERALLY speaking, we have had nothing that could be called social research, bearing on the tasks of social workers. The most important contributions of science to social research and social work have come from medicine and particularly from psychiatry. The work of Healy, author of *The Individual Delinquent*, in connection with the Juvenile Court in Chicago, and later in Boston, is, in my opinion, the first and most important contribution of science to social work. The Institute of Juvenile Research in Chicago, under Dr. Herman Adler, State Criminologist, has worked out a type of case study of the individual which is probably second only to the work done in Boston under Healy.

But these studies are not sociological; they are rather anthropological and psychological. However, there are studies being carried on at the present time under Dr. Erle Fiske Young, of the Graduate School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, which seem to me destined to change fundamentally our whole conception of case histories. The new point of view represented in those studies is outlined in an article by Professor E. W. Burgess in the *American Journal of Sociology*.*

The point of this paper is that, in dealing with human beings, we must distinguish between the biological indi-

* "The Study of the Delinquent as a Person," *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, XXVIII: 657-680.

vidual — a product of heredity — and the person. The person is the individual plus his conception of himself and of his rôle in society. This is no more than to say that the human being, as distinguished from the human animal, is self-conscious, feels himself morally responsible for his own acts, is extremely sensitive about his status in the group to which he belongs, and is a wholesome, helpful member of society only when he is contentedly, hopefully performing some task which he regards as important to society as well as useful to himself.

The importance of this distinction between the biological individual and the person was, perhaps, first fully revealed in the work of rehabilitating the wounded soldiers, and even those who were not wounded, of the World War.

In order to rehabilitate a man who had lost a leg, an arm, or an eye, it was found necessary, not merely to give him, as far as possible, an artificial substitute for the lost member, to teach him how to use it, but, most important of all, it was necessary to help him make the moral adjustment; to lead him to re-define his ambitions and hopes, and to conceive himself as a totally different person from what he had been — a person with very different habits, associations, ambitions, and ideals.

Now the most important task in dealing with the poor, the unfortunate, the mildly insane, and criminal, is to rehabilitate them in this moral sense; to find a place for them in a society in which they can live — and live not merely in the physical but in the social, the human sense.

What does living in this wider social sense mean? It means that life — human life — is always more than mere existence. In some way or another man must, in order to live, realize all his fundamental wishes.

He must have (1) security, that is, a home; some place to go out from and return to.

He must have (2) new experience, recreation, adventure, new sensations.

He must have (3) recognition, i. e., he must belong to some society in which he has status, some group in which he is somebody; somewhere or other, in short, he must be a person rather than a mere cog in the economic or social machine.

Finally, (4) he must have affection, intimate association with some one or something, even though it be merely a cat or a dog, for which he feels affection and knows that affection is returned. All special human wishes reduce finally to these four categories and no human creature is likely to be wholesome and happy unless, in some form or manner, all four of these wishes are more or less adequately realized.

Now the studies which Dr. Young and others are making are intended to find out in what different ways, in the cases which fall into the hands of the social workers, these different wishes can be realized. Every case becomes, therefore, one not of relief or of medical treatment merely, but of rehabilitation. Rehabilitation involves finding a place in which the individual can be a person; a place in which he or she is a member of some group, no matter how humble, in which they have an honorable status; a place in which they can live — in the larger social sense to which I have referred.

This represents, in my opinion, a sort of social research at present being carried on which is most important to social service.

The other type of research which has been and is destined in the future to be of real importance to social service are the community studies now being carried on in different parts of the country.

All sorts of community studies are important to social

service, because the individual's problem is always, in the last analysis, a community problem.

After all the formal, statistical, and descriptive facts about a community have been collected and analyzed, the most interesting and most instructive information about a community are the life histories, the intimate biographies and autobiographies, of the people who compose it. In these life histories the real significance of the community's social institutions is revealed as they are in no other way. A community is well and efficiently organized, from the sociological point of view, not because it is rich, nor well housed, nor physically well equipped, but because through its organization its members are able to realize all their fundamental wishes.

Does the community give its people security, present and future? Does it make life interesting or is life, in spite of all its opportunities, dull? Does the community give every individual, somewhere and in some group, a status, a place in which he feels that he functions and in which he can have a certain honest pride?

Finally, does the community provide, so far as it can provide, for family life, affection, and the mystical comforts of friendship and mutual understanding?

These are the questions which we are beginning to ask about the community. We want to know the very different ways in which the communities have succeeded or have failed to meet these fundamental demands of human nature. We know in advance that where the four wishes of (1) security, (2) new experience, (3) recognition, and (4) response are not realized there will be discontent, unrest, social disorganization, and eventually danger of riot and revolution.

If social service is to expand its activities to meet all these needs we shall require a very different sort of com-

munity study than we have had in the past. But these new forms of social study are making their appearance. If I speak of studies made in Chicago it is because I happen to know them best. Studies of the sort I have in mind are Nels Anderson's study of "Hobohemia," as he called it, the rendezvous of the hobo on West Madison street, Chicago. West Madison street, I might add, in addition to being the rendezvous of the casual worker is, like the docks in London, the human junk heap of a great city. It is itself a city of from 40,000 to 70,000 inhabitants, and represents in the mass more restless discontent; probably falls short of realizing the values of a wholesome, not merely physical but social life, to a greater degree than any other region of the same size in the United States.

Another social study which falls in this same category is the Negro in Chicago, a study growing out of the race riot in Chicago in the latter part of July and the first week of August, 1919, and made under the direction of a commission appointed by Governor Lowden.

It was characteristic of both these studies that they were not content with mere physical facts but studied the personal histories of the individuals as well as the local customs, traditions, and attitudes of the groups to which these individuals belonged.

In *Hobohemia*, Nels Anderson has described the habitat of the hobo; in the *Negro in Chicago*, Graham Taylor and Charles Johnson studied what we may describe as the cultural background of the Chicago race riot.



GREAT Britain has set the highest standard for her working classes, and done the most to realize it, of any nation in the world. Nowhere else is public opinion on housing questions so active or so highly developed. Edith E. Wood, *Housing Progress in Western Europe*, 64.

WHAT IS A SOCIAL PROBLEM?

CLARENCE MARSH CASE

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ACCORDING to the etymology of the word, a "problem" of any kind is anything "thrown forward," that is to say, it is anything thrust upon the attention. This definition applies perfectly to what are commonly called "social problems." The phrase itself is one of those much used popular expressions which turn out to be incapable of exact definition when we pause to ask ourselves what we really mean by our phraseology. "Social problems" has long figured as just such a vague but useful expression. Popular as it is, it seems difficult to state, in exact terms, just what a social problem is. Yet while it can hardly be defined so exactly as "social processes," it is possible to state the idea in general terms.

A social problem, as the term is herein understood, means any social situation which attracts the attention of a considerable number of competent observers within a society, and appeals to them as calling for readjustment or remedy by social, i. e., collective, action of some kind or other. The phrase "considerable number" is confessedly vague, but is chosen deliberately to indicate any number, from a vast majority to a small minority if capable and energetic.

The essential feature of this definition is its *socio-psychological* character. That is to say, a "social problem" is not a purely objective situation, which can be recog-

NOTE: This article is from a forthcoming text-book of readings in sociology to be published by Harcourt, Brace & Company.

nized by a *stranger*, no matter how proficient in the social sciences, who is not in membership with the social group concerned. In other words, the most learned of sociologists is not competent to go among the lowest of Australian tribesmen and point out to them that they have such and such social problems, — for example, improper child feeding, sexual immorality, or poor housing. One guilty of such impertinence would arouse astonishment and ridicule, if not resentment, and might very properly be informed that no such problems existed in that group. This would be strictly accurate, in so far as no considerable number of Australian tribesmen had come to be conscious of any unfavorable conditions of the character mentioned, and requiring remedial action. Consequently, for them no "problem" exists, and the concern of our statistical and philanthropic social scientist counts for nothing against this indifference on the part of the group involved.

This is true because, as shown above, a social "problem" is partly a state of the social mind and hence not purely a matter of unfavorable objective conditions in the physical or social environment. An expert statistician or social worker may be perfectly competent to point out the existence and nature, and even the causes and remedies in some cases, of *adverse social conditions* in any society on earth, but neither he nor any other outsider can single out the *social problems* of a social group except by studying the *collective mind* of that group. Social statistics can detect and analyze *adverse social conditions*, but only social psychology and sociology are competent to formulate the *social problems* of the group, because these sciences alone are able to ascertain what the particular life conditions are that have thrust themselves upon the attention of a considerable number of competent observers within the group, being thus "thrown forward" in the collective

consciousness as conditions demanding remedial social action. Without this act of *attention*, which takes note and seeks to manipulate and control, there is no social *problem* existent. Hence a group may live under many unfavorable conditions yet have few social problems, or even none at all.

From this it follows that the number and character of "social problems" varies from time to time just as it varies from place to place. The social problems of the United States are quite different from those of native Australia, China, or Greenland, but they are also very different from those of the United States itself a hundred years ago, and doubtless not at all what they will be a hundred years hereafter. At the same time certain adverse social conditions may be identical in all these places and at all these times, for example, dearth of natural resources, existence of a polluted water supply, the presence of dangerous bacteria, unfair distribution of wealth, or ignorance of child care. These are objective, natural, and social phenomena, actually existent and constantly open to observation and tabulation, but they may not at any time or place exist for the group mind, particularly for the *public opinion* there existent on social welfare. When they do they become the objective element in that state of the group mind which consists in the recognition of a certain social problem. The corollary of this is that no complete and final list of specific social problems can be drawn up by the present writer or by any one else.

It is nevertheless possible, and also sometimes desirable, to *classify* social problems in a broad and general way. The basis of classification used by the present writer may be said to be that of the *source* from which the social problems emerge, or, in the language of our definition, the quarter *from which* the problem in each instance is "thrust

forward" upon public attention. From this point of view social problems fall into four groups, as presented in the following chapters, namely: *First*, those which are presented by some unfavorable aspect of the physical environment. *Second*, those arising from defects in the nature of the population itself, or unfavorable tendencies in its rate of growth, or its geographical distribution, or disturbing differences in its racial types. *Third*, those growing out of faulty and disrupting social arrangements, i. e., poor social organization, between the members of the group; and, *Fourth*, those springing from the growth and conflict of divergent ideals or social values cherished by different classes or sub-groups within the society.

After the above conception and classification had been worked out a most valuable article by Dr. Hornell Hart, entitled "What is a Social Problem?" appeared in the *American Journal of Sociology* (November, 1923). According to Dr. Hart, "a social problem is a problem which actually or potentially affects large numbers of people in a common way so that it may best be solved by some measure or measures applied to the problem as a whole rather than by dealing with each individual as an isolated case, or which requires concerted or organized human action."

It will be observed that in this definition the *social* nature of the "problem" is made to consist in the fact that social or collective action ("concerted or organized action") is *required for the solution*; while in our own definition the social character consists essentially in the fact that the collective or group mind, or in common speech, the public mind, *recognizes the existence* of the problem; and perceives also the fact that it must be collectively solved.

In the *classification* of social problems the same con-

trast appears. Whereas our present classification indicates in each case the ground or source of the particular problem, that of Dr. Hart seems to be based upon *the nature of the solution*. Thus he introduces each group of problems with a general query, and in every case the question asks after the possible *solution*, as follows: A. "Economic Problems: How can poverty and excessive wealth be minimized?" B. "Health Problems: How may the average span of life be lengthened, health be made more intense, and sickness minimized?" C. "Political and Socio-Psychological Problems: How can human relationships be made most conducive to the general welfare?" D. "Educational Problems: By what social means may individual personalities be most enriched and rendered most serviceable to society?"

Dr. Hart, being himself a social statistician, defines a social problem in terms of objective data amenable to the processes of statistical method. From the point of view of the present writer these are not social problems in the full sense, but simply the adverse conditions of life which form one side of social problems, the other being the more or less prevalent social attitude toward those conditions. But while *defining* social problems from the viewpoint of the social statistician, Dr. Hart *classifies* them from the standpoint of the social worker, reformer, or social engineer; that is, on the basis of their mode of solution. In the present volume they are classified from the point of view of their source; more explicitly from the angle of the environmental conditions or social processes in which they have their origins.

As herein regarded, social problems turn out to be, in a very essential aspect, social *processes*. More exactly, the recognition and solution of adverse social conditions through the formulation of a series of so-called "social

problems" constitutes in itself a definite social process, comprised, along with the other social processes discussed in the works of sociologists, under the one great all-embracing social process which we call social evolution. Consequently the era of social problems, or of any particular problem, arises in different societies at different stages of social evolution.²

² Most writers have treated social problems from a strictly practical and remedial point of view, but among the relatively few who have given special attention to the nature of social problems should be mentioned Prof. Charles A. Ellwood: *The Social Problem*; Prof. Ira W. Howerth: *Work and Life* (Ch. I, "The Social Problem of Today"); and Prof. Carl Kelsey: "How Social Progress Causes Social Problems," in *Pub. University of Pennsylvania, Free Public Lecture Course*, 1914-15.



THE LIE itself is not invested with immorality until we reach fairly high levels of civilization. At early levels the premium is placed upon craft and cunning. Wells, *Pleasure and Behavior*, p. 42.

PUBLIC opinion on housing questions in Europe is at least a generation ahead of ours in the United States. We are still discussing the points that they settled forty years ago. Edith E. Wood, *Housing Progress in Western Europe*, p. 3.

IT is clear therefore that any fears of the arrest and decay of human progress if a particular race should lose in fertility, or become absorbed in others, are unfounded. Such alarms may be attributed to egocentric imagination. Kroeber, *Anthropology*, p. 506.

BUT IN the main, the claims sometimes made that eugenics is necessary to preserve civilization from dissolution, or to maintain the flourishing of this or that nationality, rest on the fallacy of recognizing only organic causes as operative, when social as well as organic ones are active — when indeed the social factors may be the much more practical ones. Kroeber, *Anthropology*, p. 7.

IMMIGRATION AND THE AMERICAN BIRTH RATE

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THERE IS a widely accepted idea that immigration does not increase the population of a country but operates to lower the native birth rate and so results in a substitution of foreign for native stock. This idea appears to have been advanced first by Walker¹ but it has been generally accepted and variously restated by writers on immigration.² Recently a widely circulated publication of the Commonwealth Club of California has undertaken to revive the doctrine and increase its popular currency.³ The question is one of sufficient practical importance to warrant its discussion. It is rather easy to demonstrate the desirability of a restrictive immigration policy and it is unfortunate, therefore, that the advocates of restriction should prejudice their case by resort to a line of argument that is demonstrably unsound.⁴

¹ "Immigration and Degradation," *Discussions in Economics and Statistics*, Vol. II, pp. 417-26. The original and complete article: *Forum*, II, (1891), 634-43.

² F. A. Bushee, "The Declining Birth Rate and Its Cause," *Pop. Sci. Mo.* 63 (1903), 355.

John R. Commons, *Races and Immigrants in America*, pp. 198-208.

C. A. Ellwood, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, pp. 178-79.

H. P. Fairchild, *Immigration*, pp. 215-25. Also, "The Paradox of Immigration," *Amer. Jour. of Sociol.*, XVII (1911), 254-67.

Report of the Industrial Commission, Vol. XXV, p. 277.

S. G. Fisher, "Has Immigration Increased Population?" *Pop. Sci. Mo.*, XLVIII, (1895), 244-55.

Prescott F. Hall, *Immigration and Its Effects on the United States*, pp. 107-20.

E. C. Hayes, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, pp. 267-69.

A. M. Schlesinger, *New Viewpoints in American History*, p. 15.

³ Earle Ashley Walcott, "Immigration and Population," *Trans. of the Commonwealth Club of California*, Vol. XVII, No. 8, pp. 365-80.

⁴ For other discussions of the fallacy of Walker's theory of immigration, see E. A. Goldenweiser, "Walker's Theory of Immigration," *Amer. Jour. of Sociol.*, XVIII:342-51; F. A. Fetter, *Modern Economic Problems*, pp. 417-37; E. B. Reuter, *Population Problems*, pp. 186-97.

Following the American Revolution and the establishment of the Federal government, there was a considerable immigration into the United States. The number of these incomers fell to a trifling figure during the War of 1812 but rose again following the Peace of 1815. Prior to 1819, however, there was no provision for the collection and publication of statistics in regard to the movement, and the actual number of immigrants is a matter of conjecture and speculation. In the earlier part of the hundred year period covered by our immigration statistics there was a relatively small but fairly uniform and constantly increasing yearly immigration. The first notable influx came in the decade following 1845. A second large increase came in the period following the Civil War in America. The next large wave came in the late seventies and early eighties. This was followed by a period of lower immigration until the beginning of the rise in the late eighties which continued, with fluctuations, through the first decade of the present century to its almost complete cessation during the latter years of the recent War of the European States. The total number of immigrants admitted during the century covered by the statistical records exceeds thirty-three million.

The exact percentage of this total of admissions which remained to become a permanent element of the population cannot be determined. No detailed record of outgoing aliens was attempted prior to 1908, and it is, consequently, impossible to state with any assurance of reasonable accuracy the contribution of different peoples to the American population. The Immigration Commission estimated that four-fifths of the immigration prior to 1881 represented a permanent addition to the population and that since that year an average of two-thirds of the incomers became permanent residents of the country.⁵

⁵ *Report of the United States Immigration Commission. Abstract. Vol. I, p. 112.*

But the contribution that the immigrants make to the total population is not to be measured by the number admitted nor by the number who remain. The natural increase of the alien peoples in the country of their adoption makes a further contribution to numbers. The native born descendants of the immigrants may very soon be more numerous than the immigrants themselves.

The other question is the effect, if any, of immigration on the rate of increase of the native population. By how much the incoming of alien peoples have increased the growth and total population of the country is a question quite apart from that of the number admitted or the number present. The question here is concerning what the total population would have been at any given date provided there had been a smaller immigration or none at all during the preceding decades. The opinion is very generally held that American immigration has in reality added little or nothing to the growth of numbers: that, had these foreign-born increments to the population been excluded, the population would have grown as rapidly by natural increase alone.

This position is suggested by the curious correlation said to exist between immigration and the birth rate of the native stock. During the past century the birth rate of the native American stock has fallen as the influx of immigrants has risen. The fall has been most rapid and the point it has reached lowest in the states and section where the immigration has been most heavy. In other states where the immigration has been light, there has been no such fall in the birth rate and the increase of population by natural growth has been more rapid. The same parallelism of phenomena is found between immigrants of an older and those of a newer stock: in sections receiving a large immigration of the Slavic and East European stock there has been a falling off in the birth rate of the partly

Americanized groups. It is argued that the coincident phenomena stand in a causal relation to each other and that the decreasing birth rate of the American and earlier immigrant stocks is the result of the incoming of groups with different customs and standards. Immigration is, consequently, merely a way of substituting a new for an older stock, not a successful method for increasing the total population.

As conventionally stated, this theory of racial survival, in spite of its surface plausibility and wide-spread acceptance, is lacking in several vital respects.

The assumption that the decline in the birth rate of the native American stock coincides in time with the period of heavy immigration to America is not a valid one. The fall in the American birth rate seems to have begun at least as early as 1810 and to have continued its decline at about the same rate since that time.⁶ No considerable immigration to America took place before the inrush of the Irish and the Germans toward the middle of the century. It is hardly permissible to assign as the cause of a phenomenon a thing that is subsequent to it in point of time.

Further doubt as to the validity of this explanation of the declining birth rate develops when comparison is made with other countries. Decreasing fecundity is characteristic of most of the countries of advanced European civilization; it is not peculiar to America, nor even to countries receiving a large immigration. The birth rate of England has declined in the presence of a considerable emigration. In France it has declined while neither emigration nor immigration have been important elements of the national life. In the Australian states it has declined in the presence of an immigration that is both relatively and abso-

⁶ Willcox, Walter I., "The Changes in the Proportion of Children in the United States and the Birth Rate in France in the Nineteenth Century." *Publ. Am. Stat. Assn.*, XII (1911), 490-99.

lutely small. On the other hand the birth rate has remained stationary at a high level in countries receiving a considerable immigration, in countries losing large numbers by emigration, and in yet other countries not profoundly affected by either phenomenon.

But aside from the dubious statistical data upon which the theory rests and the doubt cast by the fact that the method of arriving at the conclusion involves the methodological fallacy of generalizing about a social problem on the basis of its form in a single social situation, the theory as stated is open to more fundamental criticism. The prime fallacy seems to lie in the assumption that a direct causal relation obtains between the two sets of phenomena because of coexistence in space and sequence in time. Disregarding the probable statistical error commented upon above, the three possible explanations advanced, namely: that the decline in the birth rate and the increase in immigration are without causal connection, or that the first is the cause of the second, or that the second is the cause of the first, seem not to exhaust the possibilities. Omitting the first as being inherently improbable, it does not follow that a direct cause and effect relation obtains between the parallel phenomena. Both may be effects of a single underlying condition, or they may find their cause in separate but related phenomena. The latter appears to be the true explanation in the present situation.

The nineteenth century in America was marked by rapid industrial and social change. The feverish and socially unregulated exploitation of the country's natural resources together with the rapid transformation of an agricultural into an industrial society, taking place in the presence of a scarcity of easily exploitable labor and in a country where a militant individualism was a dominant psychological attitude, created an insistent demand for a supply of cheap labor. At the same time there was rapid develop-

ment in the means of communication and transportation and a cheapening of travel which stimulated and made possible immigration of men of a less adventurous and more docile type in ever increasing numbers and from countries of less open resources and with lower wage and living standards. On the other side, the nineteenth century in America was a period of rapid increase in wealth and comfort in many classes of society. There was a progressive urbanization of the population and a constantly rising standard of comfort on the part of the Americanized stock. With the increase of wealth and comfort, there was an increase in popular education, a progressive emancipation of women in the more prosperous classes, and an increasing recognition of the burdensome handicap of numerous children. The growth of individualism and the decline of the Puritanic tradition was accompanied by the wide dissemination of information concerning mechanical means of birth control. The rapid industrial development of America furnished the stimulus to the immigration movement; the cultural enlightenment of certain classes, in the presence of the individualistic attitude, gave rise to the widespread custom of avoiding the burdens of a numerous family. The two phenomena appear to spring from the rapidly evolving social conditions and the individualistic psychology of the people, instead of standing, as Walker thought, in a direct relation of cause and effect.

The essential facts are not refuted, however, by pointing out a certain inadequacy in the statement of the case. The contention of Walker and his followers is not to be discarded *in toto*. The idea that the birth rate of the native American stock responds directly to the inrush of immigrants may be dismissed as an illusion. The fall in the birth rate is due to other causes and it would have occurred had immigration been negligible or entirely absent. The country would have filled up anyway and necessitated

either a lessened rate of natural increase or a lowered standard of living. Also, the discovery of mechanical means for controlling the size of family would inevitably operate to reduce the birth rate in the social classes where the desire for personal success and advancement outweighs the conventional desire for family and offspring. All this may be granted. At the same time it is necessary to recognize that the enormous influx of European peoples, for the most part in the productive years of life, greatly stimulated the exploitation of American resources and contributed to the industrial development and urban growth of the country, thus helping to create the social and economic conditions basic to the declining birth rate of the native American group. Immigration helped to fill and develop the country and thereby helped to create conditions favorable to the decline. In this sense, and apparently only in this sense, there is a causal relation between the two phenomena.

There are, in reality, two different questions involved in the discussion of the effect of immigration on numbers. On the one hand is the question of the effect of incoming aliens on the birth rate of the native American stock; on the other hand is the question of its effect on the total population. The two are not necessarily the same, and in the present case are not the same. It is doubtless true that immigration contributed indirectly to a decrease in the birth rate of the older population stock; the assertion that the native population would be no larger than it is today had there been no immigration for the past half or three-quarters of a century cannot be granted. But the retardation in the natural increase of the native stock that is directly traceable to immigration is probably the minor influence so far as the total growth of the population is concerned.

The major part of the immigrants have come from very fecund stocks and their folkways undergo no immediate

change with the change of residence. They become Americanized only after a considerable period of residence in the new environment. The gradual giving up of their European folkways of early marriage and large family is one evidence that they are in process of assimilation—that they are coming into the new culture. The gradual change of attitude may be seen plainly when comparison is made between immigrant stocks resident in America for different periods of time. The birth rate of the native stocks is lowest but that of the partly assimilated stocks, those resident for a generation or more in America, is lower than that of the new comers who are not as yet contaminated by the American attitude. The families of the immigrant groups are larger than those of the older population, and the average age of marriage is considerably lower, consequently, they produce a larger number of generations per century. The position that the total population of the country would be as large or even larger than it is today had there been no immigration for the past half or three-quarters of a century fails to take into account the rapid multiplication of the immigrants after their introduction into the American environment.

If properly stated the problem is not one of numbers, but of numbers in relation to the natural resources of the country. Granted a little additional time, without any immigration, the population would have been as large as the resources of the country warranted. The tendency toward a large immigration will continue so long as the attractions of America are in any way superior to those of any other part of the world. The question, therefore, is one of the desirability of restriction and a slower increase of numbers; a question as to whether it is better to use up, so far as it is possible to do so, the natural resources of the country in the present generation and allow the standard of living to fall to the general world average or to maintain

the higher standards of population welfare at the expense of a less rapid exploitation of the country's resources. There is also involved the question of the quality and type of the population; whether it is desirable to maintain a population of more or less homogeneous ethnic and mental type or to encourage the growth of a more cosmopolitan population. Primarily the question is one of when and whom, not a question of a large or small population.



IN SPITE of the millions spent on education it would appear that we do not really train our citizenship to *think* in matters of religion, politics, or economics. Mecklin, *The Ku Klux Klan*, p. 51.

THE CHIEF cause of industrial unrest is that capital does not strive to look at the questions at issue from labor's point of view, and labor does not seem to get capital's angle of vision. Rockefeller, Jr., *The Personal Relation in Industry*, p. 16.

CULTURE or civilization, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, p. 1.

I BELIEVE that that man renders the greatest social service who so cooperates in the organization of industry as to afford to the largest number of men the greatest opportunity for self-development and the enjoyment of those benefits which their efforts add to the wealth of civilization. Rockefeller, Jr., *The Personal Relation in Industry*, p. 33.

THE PEOPLE of Western Europe have undertaken national housing schemes, not because their need is greater than ours, but because they are more convinced that we of the importance of good housing in the making of good citizens and of the obligations of communities in connection with the house-supply. Edith E. Wood, *Housing Progress in Western Europe*, p. 3.

SOME OBSTACLES TO COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

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HAS COMMUNITY organization as a movement fallen into the hands of the Babbitts? It is not so bad as that, but so much of the literature is over-optimistic propaganda for sundry programs and organizations that it is time for the wise man to "stop, look, and listen." What obstacles may there be to the prompt and easy translation into real life of the rosy dreams of some of our promoters? Speaking generally, the obstacles will include everything that keeps people apart and interferes with team-work. More specifically, we may name religious, economic, racial and national antagonisms, our political party system, the inertia of custom and tradition, the difficulty of finding, training, and keeping competent leaders, the diffusion of the interests of each individual, and the physical mobility of the population. But rather than open an abstract discussion of the obstacles to community organization and reorganization we propose to analyze a particular local situation — to make a case study — with the hope of shedding some light on the more general question.

Seven miles from Bakersfield, California, lies the Kern River Oil Field, a region some twenty-five square miles in area and occupied by about 2,500 people. Until a quarter of a century ago this section was barren, hilly, and seamed with canyons. Probably the whole of it could have been bought for "two bits" an acre. Then a "wildcat" well was

started; oil was found; the rush came. Night and day, seven days in the week, with holidays eliminated, work proceeded. Rude bunkhouses emerged and shacks sprang up; oil derricks grew until now there is a forest of 2500 of them. Power plants multiplied; gasoline engines were installed. At first oil lakes were formed and "sumpholes" dug; then a hundred reservoirs costing a "mint of money." Pipelines lengthened to miles and miles; gas was conducted into every human dwelling place; running water was brought to shack and bunkhouse; electric wires checkered the field. To every derrick was built a road; refineries were started; millions were spent for materials and millions more for wages. Families moved in; children appeared; schools were instituted; a church was ventured; social functions were attempted.

Today the several oil companies pay creditable wages and generously provide for the comfort of the bachelor men, as well as for those with families. Apparently there is a premium placed upon the family, with the thought that a man with a family is a possible fixture. The Associated Oil Company leads in such domestic and social provisions. Bunkhouses are well kept with a room for each man. They have baths, toilets, and reading rooms. The mess house is well managed; the food is bountiful and well prepared. Much is done for the welfare of the unattached men. There are a few unattached women, and they too are cared for with becoming wisdom.

The family houses are comfortable, spacious, supplied with gas, electricity, bath, toilet, and frequently telephone. The buildings are usually embowered in cottonwood trees, with now and then apricots and figs. Even though the summers are hot, this environment with plenty of water serves to dissipate the heat, making living conditions tolerable, if not inviting. These things together with contin-

uous work and good wages are powerful to produce sunshine in the faces of men, women and children.

There are four district schools with attendance varying from 200 to 300, and having a dozen teachers. At the Center is a club house well equipped, but struggling between life and death, with an occasional dance or card party. There is a splendidly equipped plunge with bath house which is popular during the summer. Within a year a golf course was laid out; it is popular with a limited number. There is an athletic field; but no game of any kind has been staged there for months. With a strenuous campaign the Parent-Teacher Associations, of which there are two, enroll a hundred members at a dollar a year. Two Sunday Schools operate in the field with a combined membership of 125. There is one small church with a resident minister. At the Center are a Post Office, general store, soda fountain, barber shop and billiard tables, all in one room, not under company management, making a real contribution toward community socialization. Yet all these local institutions have made and are making slow progress in bringing the people together.

The folks living in this field seem to be above the average in intelligence. Here are found college and university people, and a goodly number who have studied in other higher and technical institutions of learning. The companies have sought out those who were manifestly capable; they have by processes of sifting and elimination secured the efficient. On the brow of almost every worker may be read the story of character, trustworthy and reliable. This gives solidity; it also assures the families, making women and children unafraid to live anywhere in the field, enjoying the feeling of security and protection without dogs and padlocks.

It has been the custom of the field for men to work

seven days in the week. This means that, deprived of their "one day in seven," the men seek diversions in a fragmentary manner and without unity of purpose. Then there is the eight-hour shift, in itself worthy of commendation; but coupled with it is the monthly change of shift. If a man wished to attend regularly any educational, religious, or social gatherings, it would be impossible, because his hours would change every month.

The oil companies are many, each with its own manpower and domestic attachments, each standing over against the other, many of them separated by the numerous canyon seams. Into this field men come for a short time; seldom do they stay more than six months, and then they shift to another company or to other fields. A few families come for a short time and camp. None having come to stay, acquaintances are seldom attempted, much less are friendships formed; neighborliness is lacking. Such being the fact, they can hardly be expected to look ahead with pride to a fine church, school or other public buildings which throughout their days might adorn their town.

As the wage-earners have prospered, they have purchased automobiles, until now there is a garage for every family in the field. This is a dissipating instrument, especially so far as the church is concerned. It is easy, whenever they wish, to drive to Bakersfield for church, theater, and other activities; and apparently they do go to the county seat more frequently than they get together among themselves.

Young people find little to do when out of school. In the summer many of them leave with their mothers to escape the heat. In the places to which they go, there is not enough to occupy their time so that they are drawn into the channel of idleness, and grow up doing nothing, or less

than they ought. Even the activities of the Community House languish most of the time. It seems as hard to have a successful card party as to hold a prayer-meeting at the Church; a dance is as difficult to promote as a Sunday School Rally.

A recent survey in the interest of the local church revealed some interesting attitudes. Seldom in so restricted an area could an equal number of religious alibis be enumerated. They do not go to church. Perhaps it is correct to say that the Catholics and the Christian Scientists, of each of which there are about a dozen families, present the best front. Quite consistently they are attending their places of worship in Bakersfield. There are Methodists, Baptists and others who claim to attend church regularly in that city and a few of them do. Of one such, mention was made to the pastor when he said, "Yes, they are members of my church, but they never attend more than twice a year."

The survey shows that about 80 per cent of the folks used to go to church "every Sunday" back in Kentucky, Missouri and the other states; but out here they do what most people do. It is having its effect upon the children who are growing up without knowledge of the Bible. One devout Catholic complained of "the heathenish way in which children were being brought up," "not knowing when Sunday comes except by the funny page in the Sunday paper."

The women could attend religious services, even though their husbands work on Sunday; but they are coming to do as the men. One woman declared she had not been to church for five years; another had not gone in ten years; an extreme case was that of a woman who had not gone to church for nineteen years.

A few were frank enough to say, "We are not interested."

One responded in this way, "No use calling on us; don't want anything to do with churches. They are not what they are cracked up to be. You've got to show me. I was brought up in the Episcopal church and was assistant superintendent of the Sunday School, but they didn't put it across. I haven't got a darn thing against religion, but —"

In the minds of a good many the church is a failure. It has not succeeded very well. Neither has the club house, nor has the Parent-Teacher Association, nor the athletic club, nor the Boy Scouts, nor several other attempts made in the recent past. Any effort made to socialize the field may run well for a season, but all too soon it "peters out."

To *summarize*: We find here, in spite of plenty of good human raw material and good physical conditions of life, serious obstacles to the development of a vital community life. These include the high labor turn-over with the certainty that many will not stay long, the separation of the employees of sixty different companies, the seven-day week and the changing shift, the accessibility of a near-by town of 30,000, especially since "everyone" has an automobile, and the physical contour of the region which makes it easier to go down the canyons away from the oil field than across the hills to the neighbors.

Against these odds the church in the field is working toward the socialization of the district. The resident minister calls on all the families, and seeks to identify each with all the others. The field is divided into fifteen small sectors, with a chief over each, and an attempt is being made to link them together. The friendly attitude of the public schools is cultivated, and close harmony with the Parent-Teachers Association is sought. Efforts are being made to combine dramatics, community sings, social entertainments and other programs to interest both the young and old. In these ways the church is seeking to weave all the families into a substantial social whole.

THE MEXICAN POPULATION OF OMAHA

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THE MEXICAN population of Omaha is typical of the middle western cities.¹ During the war, immigration of Mexican laborers was rapid. The 1920 census shows a total of 682 Mexicans in this city. The steady increase of the last three years brings the total to about 1000. This number fluctuates, depending on the demand for employment. The section of the city known as South Omaha is the home of more than 600 Mexicans, congregated near the three large packing houses. We also find small settlements scattered along the eastern edge of the city near the railroad tracks. There are only about fifty families in South Omaha, as the greater portion of the population is composed of single men. The other settlements include about twenty-five families which seem to be more settled groups.

Very few of the Omaha Mexicans are American born. The intermarriage of the Spaniards and Indians has produced the migrating Mexicans. Most of these are of the peon or laboring class, and, due to the lack of educational facilities in Mexico, the majority of them are illiterate. The Americanization work, sponsored by the public schools and the churches of the city, is doing much to eliminate this illiteracy. Progress is slow as so few can speak the English language. Night classes are conducted for all. The ages of those who attend range from 18 to

¹ The author wishes to express his indebtedness to J. E. del Costella, a former student, for valuable assistance in making this study.

40 years. Afternoon classes are held at the school buildings for the Mexican mothers. Seventy-one Mexicans attend the night classes and 59 children are enrolled in the regular day schools. When the adults are asked to enroll in the English classes, they are very shy at first, but after one or two enroll others immediately follow. They are conscious of the commercial need of a knowledge of the English language, but many are mentally lazy. They attend classes just long enough to learn the use of a few most commonly used words. The public school teachers state that these children have average mental ability and do well in their work.

The Mexicans are employed principally at the packing houses, the stock yards, on the railroads, street car lines, and on the farms near the city. At the packing plants, some work as assistant mechanics, steam-fitters, and first-class butchers. Very few work as clerks, in the shops and dry-goods stores. Usually those who have families maintain rooming and boarding houses where the single men may stay. The majority of the Mexicans who came here were either rural or urban laborers and have never been taught a trade. We find a few who are blacksmiths, electricians, carpenters, painters, barbers, musicians, book-keepers, and stenographers; but their lack of knowledge of the English language serves as a great handicap. Their employers say that they do satisfactory work as laborers. They seem to accept their lot as ordinary laborers in good faith. Their ambitions are not high. They say that they are glad to have the advantages of regular employment and the good wages that our country affords them. Those who are employed at the packing houses are guaranteed 40 hours of work per week at 42 cents per hour. The single men pay \$7.00 a week for board and room.

The native talents of the Mexicans are painting, draw-

ing, and music. Practically every home owns some kind of a musical instrument. The women do a great deal of sewing and fancy work. Music is a natural art of these people. However, they do not respond very favorably to musical instruction. They state that it is too difficult for them.

The Sociedad Benefica Recreative — "Esperanza" — is the only organization these people have for recreation. This organization owns a large hall which is pleasantly located in the heart of the largest settlement. It serves for social, recreative, and beneficent purposes. They have a small orchestra or quarteto, which plays for the programs. Their national holidays are celebrated in this hall. They also have dramatic plays and dances here. This hall is not widely used as dissension has arisen and factions exist. The pool halls, gambling places, and picture shows constitute the main places for recreation. They are shy and backward about taking part in organized recreational activities. They prefer the motion pictures and pool halls. Supervision does not appeal to the adults. A social settlement has recently been opened and trained leaders employed by the Council of Social Agencies. It will serve all the foreigners in this section of the city. This will prove a great asset to the lives of these people.

There are no religious organizations or churches established specifically for the Mexican people. As a result, few attend any church. Those who do, attend the Catholic Church. Most of them have known no other than the Roman Catholic church in Mexico. The Baptist Missionary Society, and some student missionaries, have been doing effective work among them. They are found to be very responsive to the Gospel of Christ, especially when a person speaks to them in their own language. On the whole, however, their attitude toward religion is passive. They

are not interested in religious worship. They say they are too tired to go to church on Sundays.

At least 95 per cent of them live in rented houses, and pay high rent, considering the kind and condition of the houses. Box cars serve as residences for the railroad employees. We find many homes that are cleaner than could be expected, judging by the outward appearance and location, yet many are poorly kept. Poor ventilation and crowded conditions are common. Their standard of living is very low. As they assimilate American ideas and ideals, they eagerly seek opportunities to apply their newly found principles of life and living. About 2 per cent own automobiles, but very few have telephones. Luxuries are seldom found.

The death rate is not far above the average, but the birth rate is comparatively high. The most prevalent diseases are stomach troubles, pneumonia, and tuberculosis.

The lack of proper hospital facilities for the Mexicans has caused a high death rate. They praise the Visiting Nurses (I. V. N. A.) who take care of the poor regardless of circumstances. These nurses take the children to the nurseries or orphanages and the mothers to a hospital. They visit the mothers in the homes and give them hygienic instruction. These Mexican mothers are very grateful for this attention.

The number of Mexican arrests for 1923 was 263 according to the police records. Many of these were due to a lack of knowledge of the English language and were dismissed on the grounds of misunderstanding of the orders of the police. Drunkenness, lack of employment, gambling, and poverty are the chief causes of their crimes. Crime among this class of people ranks higher than that of any other immigrant born class in the city. Three-fourths of their arrests are for drunkenness and vagrancy.

They have been accustomed to drinking freely in Mexico, so they do not understand why they should abstain here. The Mexicans say that they try to be law-abiding, but their illiteracy and inefficient knowledge of the English language handicaps them. They do not always understand the laws and ordinances.

From this study we draw the conclusion that the Mexican population of our city plays a vital part in its industrial life. Some important public works would not have been possible except for cheap labor. If it were not for the Mexicans railway work, sugar beet production, and packing plant industries would be hindered.

As human beings these Mexicans are sociable, friendly, approachable, grateful, charitable, and simple-minded. They are timid, reserved, and of a rather sensitive nature. They are more or less vindictive. They lack confidence in the American, as they think that the average American thinks of them only as inferiors. Another of the defects, and perhaps the most unfortunate one, is that of not always being sincere and reliable. However, we should not neglect them as is usually done. We should meet them with a kindly attitude and show that we have regard for them. A great deal could be done, not only here but in other cities, for the Mexican people and their country, by helping them solve their difficulties; and increase their respect for us as well as make the bonds of reciprocity between this nation and their homeland stronger and more wholesome.



THE FACT is that a savage, brought up in the ideas of tribal solidarity in everything for bad and for good, is as incapable of understanding a "moral" European, who knows nothing of that solidarity, as the average European is incapable of understanding the savage. Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid*, p. 83.

PERSONAL EXPERIENCES AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

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I

A FRUITFUL method of social research is that which seeks *personal experiences*. In these apparently are the keys to all knowledge. By these, personal opinions, which are the essence of public opinion, are made; and by these, personal attitudes, which underlie opinions, are created. When traced to their origins all one's feelings and desires well up wholly in personal experiences; and all one's "first impressions," which are usually the most lasting impressions as well, originate in personal experiences. Ideas and actions, beliefs and programs spring from personal experiences. All conviction and interpretations also are experience-made.¹

Social conflicts are often due either to personal differences in acquaintance with the facts or to differences in interpretations of facts. Both the *facts* and the *interpretations* of them are found in personal experiences. After the facts are extracted from experiences, it is still necessary to re-examine them in order to understand why they are interpreted differently by the various parties involved. We do not interpret life wholly according to the facts but primarily according to our experiences. At the start in

¹This study is intended to be supplementary to the paper on "A Race Relations Survey," by Robert E. Park, published in the March-April issue of this *Journal*. At several points it is indebted to Dr. Park for helpful suggestions.

social investigation, therefore, it is necessary to find out what persons have had interesting experiences connected with any phase of the given problem, where these persons now are, and in what ways they are best approachable. Hence, if we can get experiences in black and white, we can obtain facts, but far more important, we can locate the sources of the different interpretations of these facts. The social research student aims to discover the sources of peoples' interpretations of facts, for differences in interpretations lead to many of life's most serious misunderstandings and conflicts.

Personal experiences may be viewed as the creators of both personality and civilization. They furnish the stimuli and the problems of personal and social life. To them we turn when we wish to penetrate to first causes, or search for the meanings of any human problem. Even philosophy, it would seem, is necessarily "more or less biographical, the reflective refinement out of the dross of a man's diurnal experiences."² All the way from the sources to the ideals and goals of personality and of civilization experiences are the only data known to man. They comprise the alpha and omega of all things personal and social.

To undertake research by seeking answers to specific questions is often to blind one's self to important facts that lie outside the projected questions. To work out and give a questionnaire to assistant investigators is to direct their attention to certain ends and hence unintentionally to cause them to overlook other significant materials. At the start of any investigation, therefore, the aim is not to obtain specific answers to certain questions, but rather the general task of learning what all the related experiences have been. The first goal, hence, is to seek experiences as whole units, as ends in themselves, rather than to make questions and find answers to them.

² H. B. Alexander, *Nature and Human Nature*, Open Court Pub. Co., 1923, p. 458.

II

In order to discover who have had significant experiences regarding any problem and who are sufficiently trained and able to help in getting experiences on paper in accurate and objective form requires a period of *exploration*. Scientific circumspection is required before one plunges into the intermingling currents of personal experiences regarding a given social situation.

In the United States a common error is to want results quickly,³ and hence to go straightway in one or more promising directions. We pass judgments and seek to justify them. We are anxious to know "whether a man is *good* or *bad*, not what he is." In social research, however, a period of exploration is required so that the investigator may not rush toward specific goals too impulsively, but may go trekking about, inquiring of chance individuals as well as selected persons, seeking significant and interesting experiences. Exploration thus is both irregular and systematic; it plunges into the woods as well as chooses beaten paths. It penetrates uncharted territory as well as follows the ridge routes, withholding for a time the seeking of answers to specific questions worked out beforehand regarding the problem in hand.

If the problem is complex, if it includes a considerable time element and involves numbers of people, then the exploration period will require that a card index be made of all the persons living who have had the experiences which comprise the problematic situation.⁴ This index gives names, addresses, and a brief descriptive statement

³ A tendency that is partly the product of an over-emphasis on commercialization and economic efficiency.

⁴ For excellent suggestions and a sample procedure see R. E. Park, "A Race Relations Survey," *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, VIII:201.

of how the specific persons have been related to the problem under investigation.

III

To make personal experiences *objective* is the next main problem. To get what is in the back of persons' minds out into the open is essential. Two difficulties at once arise; first, the errors which persons unintentionally make in remembering past experiences, and second, the reticence that persons feel about disclosing many important personal experiences.

(1) The errors of remembering can be discovered partly at least by comparing experience-narratives. These discrepancies are often significant as indicating the differences in personal attitudes and interpretations.

To the social research student, erroneous remembering is as significant as correct remembering, for a distorted remembrance influences a person's current opinion just as truly as an exact remembrance. If it includes a feeling of injustice, a great sorrow, a piece of good fortune, or any striking emotional experience, the greater is the distortion and the more seriously are one's current opinions affected. While the distortion may not disclose anything regarding the nature of one's deepest attitudes, "it reveals something of the intensity of them." Hence, the distortion and the errors of remembering may be far more important than the original experience itself.

(2) In bringing persons' experiences forward upon the laboratory table of social science, in getting persons to overcome reticence and a certain unwillingness to give discreditable data about themselves, the research student becomes an expert *interviewer*. He develops some of the traits of a newspaper reporter, especially those of getting

people to talk freely about their experiences. He differs from a newspaper reporter, however, in that he is not after the "news" but the "olds;" he has time; he moves painstakingly; and he accepts data with scientific caution.

The research interviewer does not necessarily need names and places. Thus, by accepting substitute names for persons, groups, and localities he may overcome much of the reticence difficulty.

Moreover, he succeeds best when he observes the principle that most subjective data are passed from one *intimate* acquaintance to another. To strangers, one says little, to casual acquaintances, not much more; to friends, often an extensive justification; but to intimates, one makes a complete statement. It is when one "pours out his soul" to a confidante that the whole truth becomes objective. For example, a court record may show that the cause for which a divorce has been granted was "desertion" or "mistreatment." A questionnaire submitted to both parties concerned would not likely shed any additional light on the situation. Friends may get part of the facts, but intimates are told the details.

An important exception to this rule comes when through spite, or as a result of anger, a person blurts out "just what he thinks," and discloses facts as readily as though he were talking to an intimate friend. While these cases are exceptional, and are apt to be highly colored by distorting emotional reactions, they may contain a flood of helpful data. Successful interviewing, however, is usually related to the degree of intimacy which interviewer or some one of his assistants bears to interviewee.

At first the scientific interviewer encourages the interviewee to narrate what happened; to tell the pertinent experiences that he has had. In this way the interviewee's attention is not sidetracked to what the research person

desires to find out; the former is encouraged to tell his whole experience freely.

One often has only partial knowledge of the causes of his own actions. His "explanations" and "interpretations" are frequently worthless as a means of determining real causes. For this reason the research student begins by seeking sequences and coexistences of experiences, and of stimuli and responses; then, he works out interpretations rather than accepting blindly the interviewee's interpretations.

A lady recently said: "I hate the Japs; they lie and can't be trusted."⁵ When asked why she made this statement, she promptly replied that she had had one Japanese work for her and that he had deceived her. When asked what other Japanese she had known personally, she replied, "None." She illustrates a common occurrence, namely, that of building an attitude toward a whole race on experiences with only one member of that race. This is one phase of the "particularistic fallacy" to which man is so prone,⁶ that is, of generalizing from one or a few particular experiences.

In the aforementioned instance the interviewer did not stop with the woman's impassioned dislike of all Japanese, but sought a description of all that had occurred. It seems that without notifying the woman the Japanese caretaker had suddenly left, even removing his trunk while she was away. The woman superficially jumped to the conclusion that lay on the surface, namely, that Japanese are liars. Interviewing the Japanese brought out the fact that he had a wife and children living with Japanese friends fifty miles distant, that in living alone as a caretaker on the

⁵ As reported by Robert E. Park.

⁶ Cf. W. I. Thomas, *Source Book for Social Origins* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1909), p. 24.

woman's ranch he had felt his isolation and wanted to join his family or at least wanted to work where he would be near them. Is the evidence all in? If so, the case is against the Japanese, for should he not have done like a courageous American, namely, have told the woman of his desire to return to his wife? The interviewer went still further, and found that the Japanese had been brought up in the rigid patriarchal tradition that it is a sign of weakness for a man to be influenced by his wife, and hence, true to his early training, the Japanese caretaker could not admit the real reason for leaving the employment of the American woman, and not being willing to lie, had left without explanation. As a result he was accused of the very sin which he thought that he was avoiding. His whole act was caused by a sense of family loyalty. How completely would the truth in this case have been discovered by any of the ordinary objective methods of investigation, such as by a written questionnaire?

In this woman's snap and vicious judgment regarding all Japanese we have "an emotional and biased statement." This may be explained partly by the fact that she did not know Japanese and was not able "to enter imaginatively" into the nature of the Japanese' mind, tradition, and experiences. She did not possess the ability represented by what C. A. Ellwood calls "sympathetic introspection."⁷ This vacuum, as Robert E. Park has said, "was easily populated by all sorts of vague terrors which did not enter into her consciousness but still determined the tone of her experience."⁸

Another woman declared that all Chinese are reliable and wonderfully fine people. Upon inquiry it was found

⁷ "Scientific Methods of Studying Human Society," *Jour. of Social Forces*, March, 1924, p. 330.

⁸ By interview.

that she knew no Chinese personally at all but that her grandfather had had a faithful Chinese servant, whom she had not known, but of whom in her early childhood she had heard her father speak in devoted terms. As a result of family tradition, this woman held a favorable attitude toward Chinese in general. In both of the cases cited it is evident that *traditions* are factors that must be diagnosed if social research is to reach fundamentals regarding personal attitudes.

The scientific interviewer distinguishes between opinions and attitudes. A person's opinions are less fundamental and less reliable than his attitudes. Ordinarily, he expresses opinions freely, but when put to the test, he may act differently. "An opinion may be merely a defense-reaction which through over-emphasis usually falsifies consciously or unconsciously a man's real attitude."⁹ An opinion, however, is important in that it is the language in which a person "makes plausible and justifies to himself, his tendency to act," that is, his attitudes. Since opinions constitute the elements of public opinion and become fundamental phases of social control, the interviewer does not neglect them, but seeks their origin, the processes by which they are formed, and how they are changed, and thus may be in a position to make more helpful contributions to an understanding of public opinion than has yet been done.

Even greater attention may be given to learning about attitudes, how they are formed and how they are changed, for they underlie opinions and even determine what new ideas may be admitted to one's thinking. They are best discovered in the sequences of acts that constitute experiences and especially in those sequences that follow experiences. Attitudes are both causes and the results of personal experiences.

⁹ Quoted in *Christian Science Monitor*, January 21, 1924, from an interview with Robert E. Park.

The scientific interviewer distinguishes between usual and unusual experiences. In one sense, all experiences are unusual, and thus it may be better to distinguish degrees in unusualness of experience. Of the slightly unusual experiences representative ones may be found; but of the greatly unusual there are no typical ones. These are generally most interesting, for they reveal more new factors than the less usual. As many of these may be sought as can be found, for they disclose life in its most changeful phases.

IV

In certain ways the best research document is the *letter* written by one person to an intimate friend. It gives personal experiences more carefully and in more permanent form than does conversation. It narrates occurrences and gives emotional reactions in detail. Unlike a formal questionnaire it "rambles along," affording explanatory materials that answers to a formal questionnaire might studiously avoid. The letter is characterized less by personal restraint than is the questionnaire.

The least valuable research document perhaps is the ordinary questionnaire, which often gives opinions rather than their causes, quantitative rather than qualitative data. Formal questions are standardized while every social problem has its unique phases that standardized questions do not reach. The questionnaire may be filled in "for effect;" answers may be put down which will cast a favorable reflection on the one giving them. They rarely get below the surface. It is only the exceptional questionnaire of the "life history" type that is filled out analytically and in good faith and which penetrates to the core of personal experiences.

After the most subjective phases of human experiences have been made objective, then statistical and measurement methods may be applied. From these, averages, variations, and relations may then be obtained; helpful standards, scales of measurements, and score sheets may then be developed, and receive a richness of meaning hitherto unknown to them.



ACCUSTOMED to regard America as a synonym for progress, Europeans find it hard to believe, for instance, that we still cling to the exploded theory that supply and demand, in the long run, produce satisfactory homes for working people. Edith E. Wood, *Housing Progress in Western Europe*, p. 4.

WE HAVE advanced from a nation of third graders on the average in 1870 to a nation of sixth graders on the average in 1920. There is no more hopeful sign of our times; unless it is that we regard a mere sixth grade average as reproachful and are forging ahead as fast as possible toward a twelfth grade average. Finney, *Christian Century*, January 24, 1924, p. 108.

THE NATIONAL movements in our foreign missionary fields are rising in scorn to tell us that they want nothing of our materialistic and heathen civilization. . . . Mr. Gandhi asserts Western civilization is essentially a disease and loud "amens" are heard from China and Japan, from Persia and Afghanistan, from Russia and Turkey. Paul W. Harrison, *Christian Century*, March 6, 1924, 301.

GENERALLY speaking, radicalism is the product of unrest. Unrest is the expression of personal discomfort. Thoroughly comfortable individuals never become radicals. The main reason why people desire innovation is that they are uncomfortable under the existing status quo and see no prospect of relief in change in the direction of reactionism. A. B. Wolfe, *Conservatism, Radicalism, and Scientific Method*, p. 119.

Book Notes

IMMIGRATION. By EDITH ABBOTT. University of Chicago Press, 1924, pp. xxii+809.

This book is built on a wide variety of documents, beginning with "A Colonial Steerage Act" and ending with a case record concerning "Stefan Primaitis." The documents follow the immigrant not only historically to the present, but from ports of embarkation to citizenship in this country. Perhaps the best part of the book are the case records of immigrants who have been "turned back," who have tried to get work and failed, who have sought new opportunities in the United States and have been disappointed, or who have finally succeeded despite many obstacles to the contrary. It would be well if every American, especially those who style themselves 100 per cent American, could read some of these records. This source book while giving considerable space to legal and economic documents and less space to social psychological materials is nevertheless to be rated high.

ELEMENTARY SOCIOLOGY. By ROSS L. FINNEY. Benjamin H. Sanborn & Company, 1923, pp. v+234.

This is a text-book designed for high schools and junior colleges. This book places emphasis upon the normal functions of fundamental institutions as over against the pathological side which is so frequently stressed. The aim is to present materials out of which the student can construct a sound and credible philosophy of life.

W. C. S.

THE TUBERCULOSIS WORKER. By PHILIP P. JACOBS. Williams & Wilkins Company, Baltimore, 1923, pp. 314.

This is a practical, common-sense handbook of information regarding methods and programs of the tuberculosis work. Some of the specific topics are: newspaper publicity, motion pictures, clinic methods, industrial work, preventoria, the national program. A great variety of factors are treated succinctly and helpfully.

ADJUSTING IMMIGRANT AND INDUSTRY. By WILLIAM M. LEISERSON. Harper & Bros., 1924, pp. xv+356.

This is the tenth volume in the Americanization Series edited by Allen T. Burns. It maintains the splendid standard of the earlier volumes. Among the important problems that are treated the following may be noted: Finding a place in American industry; effective placement service; management of immigrant employees; training the immigrant worker; trade-union experiences with immigrant workers; the government's responsibility; the woman immigrant worker; and adjusting immigrant and industry. The immigrant's industrial experiences, their effect on his mind, the maladjustments which alienate, and the adjustments which "Americanize" — these topics summarize this excellent treatise.

POLITICAL ACTION. By SEBA ELDRIDGE. J. B. Lippincott Company, 1924, pp. xviii+382.

The first two-thirds of this book deals with psychological elements, such as hunger, fear, repulsion, pugnacity, acquisitiveness, curiosity, play tendencies, and treats them in relation to industrial and political consequences. The author's best work is done in the last third of the book where he discusses political liberalism, freedom of discussion, and radicalism. The editor of this series, E. C. Hayes, in an introductory note, takes a more hopeful view than does the author regarding the degree to which the obstacles to democracy may be overcome by educational methods.

THE TEXTURE OF WELFARE. Bradford Council of Social Service. P. S. Kind & Son, Ltd., 1923, pp. 193.

In this social survey of Bradford, England, a historical sketch is given first; then follows a description of the needs of and provisions of the people on each of five age periods; finally, there is a handbook of eight groups of social agencies in Bradford. The title, *The Texture of Welfare*, is an original and illuminating name for a social survey or rather, for the results of one. Several excellent illustrations are given. On the whole this survey and its findings are not unlike the surveys of communities of similar size in the United States. A surprising similarity of social problems is revealed.

E. S. B.

THE NEW WORLD OF LABOR. By SHERWOOD EDDY. George H. Doran Company, New York, 1923, pp. x+216.

Mr. Eddy has given to industrial bookshelves a most worth-while contribution as a result of his investigations of labor conditions in China, Japan, India in the Far East, Germany, France, Italy, and Russia. Tersely stated, the aim of the book is to win sympathy for the toiling masses in labor. Getting away from propaganda and from seeing red, the book aims to present the truth, and has admirably succeeded. Here is a humanitarian telling the story of human beings with genuine feeling. Says Mr. Eddy, "A review of the gradual evolution of labor in Europe should fill us with sympathy for the workers in Asia who are suffering today from the same low wages, long hours, and bad working conditions that prevailed in the West a century ago. It should nerve us with the resolve that we shall not rest while poverty, want, and oppression exist, anywhere in the world, side by side with exorbitant wealth, luxury and privilege unshared." The concluding chapter "The Challenge of a New World of Labor" is a masterful plea for a spiritual rather than a materialistic interpretation of life, for the working together of the propertied and proletariat, privileged and unprivileged, for the "common undivided humanity of one world of brother men."

M. J. V.

FACING THE CRISIS. By SHERWOOD EDDY. Association Press, New York, George H. Doran Co., 1922, pp. 241.

In these lectures about one-half deal helpfully and scientifically with religious problems; the other half with live and pertinent social problems, such as: What is the solution of our race problem? What should be our attitude toward war? What is the Social Gospel and the social function of the church? With clarity and in a broadly human spirit, Mr. Eddy faces these questions squarely.

ECONOMICS FOR EVERYMAN. By JAMES E. LE ROSSIGNOL. Henry Holt & Company, 1923, pp. vi+335.

In a clear but brief way the author leads the reader through a discussion of the development of industry and economic enterprises, building on a theory that is definitely skeptical of governmental control and strongly individualistic.

CONSERVATISM, RADICALISM, AND SCIENTIFIC METHOD. By A. B. WOLFE. The Macmillan Company, 1923, pp. xi+333.

Within the lasso of 333 pages the author has caught for us those evasive and half-nebulous things we call "attitudes." He has carefully studied them as definite social resultants of definite environmental causes.

Conservatism and radicalism are attitudes which arise in the minds of men because of their respective interests, attachments, motives and desires. There is a fundamental conflict between these two social attitudes. Is there a way out? The author ably demonstrates that the scientific method is the only solution: it alone can deliver men from personalistic bias, from combat psychology, and dogmatic assertions. Both conservatism and radicalism must give way to an attitudinal reform; and this reform is to be achieved through the application of the scientific method. The scientific method is free from bias. It appreciates facts by rational analysis instead of blame-anger reactions. The book is an epochal achievement. E. R. T.

PROBLEMS OF CHILD WELFARE. By GEORGE B. MANGOLD. The Macmillan Company, 1924, pp. xviii+602.

This revision retains this work in its position as the standard general text-book in child welfare. Statistical evidence is brought down to date, and sections added to cover the recent development of the child welfare movement. The more significant of these treat Health Instruction in the Schools, the Pre-School Child, the Nutrition Clinic, Standards of Play, the School as a Social Service Agency, Sex Education, Growth of Probation Service, and the Child Welfare Movement.

C. M. C.

THE ELEMENTS OF VITAL STATISTICS. By ARTHUR NEWSHOLM. D. Appleton & Company, 1924, pp. 623.

This standard work, first published in 1889, and revised in 1899, has been entirely rewritten. While the data are basically English, a considerable proportion of them are American. Population, marriages, births, sickness, mortality, contagious diseases, statistical study of causation, graphic representation of vital statistics — these are some of the themes in this significant statistical volume.

PSYCHOLOGY AND PRIMITIVE CULTURE. By F. C. BARTLETT. The Macmillan Company, 1923, pp. ix+294.

In discussing the psychological principles for understanding primitive life and culture, the author holds that when an individual responds to a given set of circumstances, "the group itself" may always be one of the circumstances. The folk story, as shown by its psychology, is primarily a social product, having a common emotional appeal within its own emotional appeal.

The major part of the book treats of the contacts of peoples, the transmission of culture by contact and by borrowing, and the psychological factors underlying the diffusion of new cultural elements within a group. In discussing these problems considerable attention is given to instinctive tendencies, "primitive comradeship," the influence of outstanding individuals, and group needs. In this attempt to build up a basis for a social psychology of modern life, splendid work has been done, although the "individual" has doubtless been overemphasized.

E. S. B.

INDIA IN FERMENT. By CLAUDE H. VAN TYNE. Appleton & Co., 1923, pp.xiii+252.

During a stay of some three months in India the author conferred with representatives of different points of view from Gandhi to the Viceroy, in addition to which he attended legislative sessions and other gatherings where both English and Indian participated. The author, who has endeavored to report only what he saw or heard, has produced a rather superficial book. From the time he received a wireless at sea from the Governor of Bombay the stage was all set for him. At several places he was met by groups with prepared addresses. Behind these masks the author has not penetrated far.

W. C. S.

WHAT CIVILIZATION OWES TO ITALY. By JAMES J. WALSH. The Stratford Company, 1923, pp. xxii+432.

Nowhere probably has Italy's contributions to civilization been put more comprehensively, thoroughly, or enthusiastically (almost fulsomely) than in this book. The gamut covered follows the alphabet from architecture to surgery, and includes such subjects as discovery, education, law, literature, mathematics, music, painting, sculpture.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. By FLOYD ALLPORT. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924.

The point of view is a study of "the individual in his social relations." In the first chapters rather detailed attention is given to physiological approaches. While extended emphasis is given to the individual's responses to social stimulations the distinction between the individual as a biological unit and a fully developed person with extensive social recognition is not made. Social attitudes are treated as attitudes of "individuals" rather than of "persons." The stress is on the "attitude" rather than on "social." The social origins of attitudes deserve more consideration. This is an excellent treatise from the psychologist's viewpoint, that is, concerning the "individual in his social life;" but needs to be supplemented by a study of the "person" and of the intersocial stimulation out of which persons develop.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT AND THE FARMER. By HAYES ROBBINS. Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1923, pp. vi+195.

President K. L. Butterfield deserves special commendation for editing a series of books for farmers. This book is one of the series known as "The Farmer's Bookshelf." The aim of the author, who is a student of labor problems, is to describe "sympathetically but dispassionately" the labor movement and to interpret it to farmers. Farmers and labor, despite the farmer-labor movement, are still far apart, because their immediate interests and social viewpoints are so variant. The interpretation of one large group to another large group within the nation is a worthy undertaking. Mr. Robbins has performed his task well; he covers such topics as trade unionism, what does labor want, and industrial democracy. E. S. B.

THE BASIS OF SOCIAL THEORY. By ALBERT G. A. BALZ. Alfred A. Knopf, 1924, pp. xxx+252.

The author contends that psychology is physiology and social psychology; that after physiology is deducted from psychology the main body of data that is left constitutes social psychology. He then proceeds to develop "social psychology" theory as a basis of the study of sociology. The chief merit of the book lies in its argument that social psychology is basic to all the social sciences. A good discussion is given of "human nature," "inherited tendencies," and "the problem of control." The book is both critical and constructive.

THE KU KLUX KLAN. By JOHN M. MECKLIN. Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1924, pp. 244.

In this, the best available description and analysis of the Ku Klux Klan, the author observes that "the real Klan is the *local* organization, which owing primarily to its secrecy, is a law unto itself." The Klan is essentially "a defense mechanism against evils which are often more imaginary than real." Intellectual mediocrity characterizes the majority of the Klan members, according to the author. "The Klan is conspicuously lacking in that refinement of sentiment and critical independence of thought which must be possessed by any individual or class that undertakes to shape public opinion in a democracy." The Klan cannot point to a "single great constructive movement which it has set on foot. Men do not gather grapes of thorns nor figs of thistles." Forceful arguments are advanced indicating that any kind of a secret society is not in harmony with democracy.

POVERTY WITH RELATION TO EDUCATION. By RALPH P. HOLBEN. University of Pennsylvania, 1923, pp. 208.

In this doctor's dissertation splendid materials are given that throw light upon the educational handicaps of families in economic straits. One hundred families in Allentown, Pennsylvania, which had accepted aid, and which had at least one adolescent member living at home furnished the data for study. Personal interviews represent the method used. The study is especially commendable wherein it discloses the experiences and attitudes of the individuals concerned.

E. S. B.

THE COMING OF MAN. By JOHN M. TYLER. Marshall Jones Company, Boston, 1923, pp. viii+147.

This book presents in outline the most conspicuous steps by which lower life has grown into manhood. Beginning with the unicellular forms, the appearance of organs or powers, which have given their possessors advantage, have been considered. The book is written in non-technical language for the general reader.

W. C. S.

CIVILIZATION AND THE MICROBE. By ARTHUR I. KENDALL. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1923, pp. viii+231.

A popular and reliable description of the relation of the microbe to human life, dealing chiefly with the helpful work of microscopic life.

CHARTS AND GRAPHS. By KARL G. KARSTEN. Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1923, pp. xi+724.

About anything in the line of making charts and graphs that one might look for can be found in this compendium. It treats of non-mathematical charts, such as route-charts; with amount-of-change charts, such as bar-charts, pie-charts, scales, cycles; with calculating charts, such as zigzag and composite mimeographs; with two and three dimension data. The book contains 498 illustrations, which are of special value in a work of this type. The whole gamut from the simplest form of map and coordinate paper work to the most advanced and technical manipulation of frequency surfaces is traversed. This is a convenient, durable volume written in a style that is clear and direct.

E. S. B.

THE PLANNING OF THE MODERN CITY. By NELSON P. LEWIS. John Wiley & Sons, second edition, 1923, pp. xvii+457.

In the second edition revised of this standard work on the "principles of city planning" the author gives a comprehensive treatment of the subject. Special attention is given to zoning, to "restrictions," to regional planning, and to correcting mistakes. The value of the book is greatly enhanced by eighty-seven excellent plates.

THE STORY OF HUMAN PROGRESS. By LEON C. MARSHALL. Part I, Preliminary Edition. The Macmillan Company, 1923, pp. ix+239.

This is a book in social science for secondary schools. It traces certain factors from prehistoric times to the present. It seeks to present an organic view of what it means to live in society, how people have lived together, and the conditions essential to living together well.

W. C. S.

SOME ASPECTS OF ITALIAN IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES. By ANTONIO STELLA. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1924, pp. xxii+124.

The foreword is by Nicholas Murray Butler; and some of the special topics are mentality and intelligence, health and mortality, savings and remittances, and the Italian immigrant as an economic factor. A plea is made for a rational and constructive immigration policy of selection "based on the specific needs of the country and on facts, not on prejudice."

CIVICS: AN INDUCTIVE STUDY SOCIALLY DEVELOPED OF THE ELEMENTS OF COMMUNITY WELFARE IN CHINA. By DANIEL HARRISON KULP, II. Edward Evans & Sons, Ltd., Shanghai, 1923, pp. xxxiii+185.

During this period of unrest and transition in China it would appear that this book is most timely. Through the medium of thought-provoking questions an interest is developed in actual conditions and problems in the community. Through the study of the institutions of the community the student will have an opportunity to think out his relationship to these agencies that he may develop into a useful citizen. The book is written in English followed by a Chinese translation so it can be widely used. In the bibliographies reference is made to literature available in Chinese as well as to standard works in English.

W. C. S.

CONTACTS WITH NON-CHRISTIAN CULTURES. By DANIEL JOHNSON FLEMING. George H. Doran Co., 1923, pp. xiv+189.

The author applies the case method to the study of missionary problems arising out of the contacts of western culture with oriental cultures. Concrete materials are used to illustrate the problems. The selections have been made not for the purpose of giving definite answers but for raising questions and provoking thought. The book shows the need for a thorough treatment of each problem on its own merits rather than settling it on the basis of dogmatic assertion or rigid doctrine. The book is more important from the point of view of the method used than for the materials presented.

W. C. S.

THE COMMUNICABLE DISEASES. By ALLAN J. MC LAUGHLIN. Harper & Bros., 1923, pp. x+269.

This is the first of a new public health series being published by Harper & Brothers. It is clear, reliable, non-technical, and comprehensive; it stresses education and a sense of community responsibility by individuals.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF SOCIAL EVOLUTION. By F. STUART CHAPIN. The Century Company, 1923, pp. xxii+320.

This is a reprint of Professor Chapin's book that appeared first in 1913, and of which a second edition was published in 1919. It is a standard work of importance.

CAPITAL'S DUTY TO THE WAGE EARNER. By JOHN CALDER. Longmans, Green & Company, New York, 1923, pp. ix+326.

The author aims to give, not a solution of the labor problem, but a presentation of "principles and practice for employers and executives and for teachers and students of management and the public on the handling of the human factors in industry." Does he really mean to exclude the wage-earner from consideration, or does he think them incapable of interpreting the facts? At times the reading of the material seems to confirm this, and one sees the labor problem surveyed at too great a distance from the laborer himself. Labor disturbances are recognized as coming from a very small minority who, because of organization, are able to make their wants known. Does not the provocation very often arise from a likewise small group of those in control of strategic industries? The book will hereafter appear under the title of *Policy and Practice*.

M. J. V.

THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN RUSSIA. By ELSIE TERRY BLANC. The Macmillan Company, 1924, pp. xi+324.

Mrs. Blanc has prepared an interesting and useful account of the history of the cooperatives in Russia since obscure beginnings fifty-seven years ago, of their fight with the Czarist government, their domination by the Soviet government for two years, and of their emergence into a powerful social movement, spreading the seeds of education and democracy.

PRIMITIVE CULTURE. By EDWARD B. TYLOR. Seventh Edition. Brentano's, 1924, pp. xxi+502+471.

The seventh edition of this well-known and respected work combines the two volumes of the first edition into one. These researches, published originally in 1871, into the development of mythology, philosophy, religion, language, art, and custom of primitive man are still of great value to anthropological students.

NATURE AND HUMAN NATURE. By HARTLY B. ALEXANDER. Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, 1923, pp. ix+529.

In this good-sized volume of essays, the author has treated a variety of subjects in a metaphysical, historical, and literary way, with keen insight. Certain of the chapters, such as those on the human personality, art, and democracy, and the evolution of ideals are important treatises in social philosophy.

FROM IMMIGRANT TO INVENTOR. By MICHAEL PUPIN, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923, pp. 396.

A Serbian immigrant describes his rise to the rank of a professor in Columbia University and an inventor of first rank, beginning with "What I Brought to America" and "The Hardships of a Greenhorn" and concluding with "The Rise of Idealism in American Science." This distinguished American inventor and scholar is glad that the present restrictive immigration laws were not in effect when he sought admittance, for he would have been rejected as undesirable.

This is a book of unusual worth not only in the fields of Americanization and science, but also of invention and leadership. A fine testimony is given to the rôle that is played by a mother's implicit confidence and faith in her son. Moreover, a scientist proudly acknowledges his indebtedness to religious faith and in one personal experience after another a vivid picture is given of how the fundamental attitudes of life are both made and modified. E. S. B.

ESSAYS ON THE DEPOPULATION OF MELANESIA. Edited by W. H. R. RIVERS. Cambridge University Press, 1922, pp. xx+116.

This book consists of a series of essays which set forth the unfavorable results of the contact of groups on different cultural levels. On account of the mingling of those of different race, the Melanese, according to Rivers, are suffering from a loss of interest in life and have consequently declined in several ways. Diseases of civilization have reduced the population; new goods have disorganized their industries; and changes in habits have led to a decline in moral tone. Both the missionary and trader, even though their aims are at opposite poles, are responsible for the resultant disorganization.

W. C. S.

HOME AND COMMUNITY LIFE. By GERTRUDE HARTMAN. E. P. Dutton & Company, 1923, pp. ix+200.

This is a set of curriculum outlines for teachers in elementary schools which builds on the social science point of view and is arranged around the needs of the family, the community, and social evolution. Many hints as well as readings are suggested concerning each topic.

DARKER PHASES OF THE SOUTH. By FRANK TANNENBAUM.
G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1923, pp.vii+203.

Four main problems, namely, the Ku Klux Klan, the Southern racial stock, Southern prisons, and racial adjustments, are discussed by Mr. Tannenbaum with sympathetic and keen insight. The author holds that the South is conscious of only one great problem; it has only one great fear—the Negro. "What the South needs is more trouble—so that it could diversify its passions, its fears, its hates—and see them all a little more reflectively, a little more passively, a little more objectively."

HOUSING PROBLEMS IN WESTERN EUROPE. By EDITH E. WOOD. E. P. Dutton & Company, 1923, pp. vii+210.

In nine chapters the author succinctly surveys recent improvements and the present status of housing conditions in the countries of Western Europe. She finds that the public authorities in these countries have a much greater sense of responsibility regarding housing conditions than do officials in the United States. In Europe housing the working classes is being considered a public utility. When housing conditions are poor it is found that social unrest and radicalism develop.

E. S. B.

WOMEN AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT. By ALICE HENRY.
George Doran & Company, 1923, pp. xix+241.

After giving three chapters to the history of women in industry, beginning with primitive women, the author describes the experiences of women in labor unions, the Women's Trade Union League, legislation in behalf of women in industry, working women and the war, the Negro woman in industry, and the International Federation of Working Women. The necessity for the organization of women in industry as their best means of self protection is the main thesis which the author strongly supports.

PROGRESS AND POVERTY. By HENRY GEORGE. An Abridgment by Anna George DeMille. Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1924, pp. ix+214.

This abridgment of a book of 568 pages to one of 214 is well done. It gives in convenient form the main principles that Henry George developed in the original volume by selecting the most pertinent phases of each chapter.

LEGAL FOUNDATIONS OF CAPITALISM. By JOHN R. COMMONS. The Macmillan Company, 1924, pp. x+394.

Dr. Commons began with the problem: What do the courts mean by reasonable value, reasonable safety, reasonable wage, reasonable conduct for public officials and private citizens. His research took him into a painstaking study of a large number of legal decisions. The outcome is a theoretical study of the *legal* foundations of capitalism. The book needs to be paralleled by a study of the *social validity* of capitalism. Treatises in economics are of real value to the extent that they go back to the personal experiences of employer, employee, and the consumer — something that this book can hardly be said to do.

THE PERSONAL RELATION IN INDUSTRY. By JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR. Boni & Liveright, 1923, pp. 149.

In this group of addresses Mr. Rockefeller makes an admirable plea for cooperation in industry and also for the development of personal relations in industry. He points out that there are four parties to industry, namely, capital, management, labor, and the community. A constructive spirit pervades the arguments which are sociologically meritorious. If all employers and employees showed a similar attitude the labor-capital conflict would be on a fair way to solution.

E. S. B.

LIVING TOGETHER. By BISHOP FRANCIS J. MC CONNELL. The Abingdon Press, 1923, pp. 244.

In these lectures, delivered at the University of Southern California on the New Era Foundation, the author speaks from a broad and wholesome point of view regarding such social conflict situations as racial strife, the labor-capital struggle, science-religion antagonisms, and denominationalism disunity. "Can Patriotism be Saved?" is the title of one of the best chapters.

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER: 1840-60. By NORMAN WARE. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924, pp. xxi+291.

This book received the first prize of one thousand dollars in Class A of the Hart, Schaffner & Marx Contest for the year 1922. It gives a detailed account of labor during the twenty year period indicated, showing how labor gained nothing. Little attempt is made at sociological analysis, but the historical merit deserves high praise.

Periodical Notes

Ideé et Définition de la Sociologie. Sociology is the science that studies the origin, the organization, and the development of human institutions in their general aspects. Raul A. Orgaz, *Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, Jan.-Feb., 1924, 7-14.

The Receding Tide of Democracy. The particular practice which is wrecking democracy today is simply the refusal loyally to accept the principle of majority rule. There is and can be no democracy without honest acceptance of the will of the majority. H. H. Powers, *Atlantic Monthly*, April, 1924, 456-467.

Psychic Mechanisms and Social Radicalism. The transfer of effect, compensation, reaction of justification, sympathy, and logical thought are cited as five psychological mechanisms which tend inevitably toward the radicalism of many laborers and some of the middle and upper classes. Ellery Francis Reed, *Journal of Social Forces*, Nov. 1923, 36-40.

The City Drift of Population in Relation to Social Efficiency. Statistics covering the 1850-1920 period indicate (1) that rural communities produce fewer leaders per hundred thousand than the city, (2) that adjustments of population to production are apparently prompt, and (3) that a decrease in the relative number of farms will necessitate imports or lowering the standard of living. R. Clyde White, *Journal of Social Forces*, Nov. 1923, 17-23.

Some Asian Views of White Culture. In an intellectual peace between Asia and Euro-America lies the hope of the enrichment of both cultures and their ultimate amalgamation into one mature world-civilization. Only a very important change of trend in our culture can assure this peace. If we are to win Asia's confidence, we must combine a greater spirituality with our material advance. Upton Close, *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1924, 353-364.

The American Malady. Discontent and unhappiness are characteristic of America largely due to our false conception of what is good and a lack of knowing how to appreciate our leisure. Langdon Mitchell, *Atlantic Monthly*, Feb. 1924, 153-168.

Woodrow Wilson's Leadership. Woodrow Wilson's belief in the possibility of permanent peace, and the substitution of law and justice for brute force, will continue to inspire his successors in what must be the long and slow processes that accompany the shaping of international institutions. Albert Shaw, *Review of Reviews*, Mch., 1924, 261-267.

The Mental-Health Survey. A mental health survey provides a method for studying the influence of numerous factors on the general mental health of a community by analyzing the problems and resources of all local agencies and by analyzing all mental difficulties in patients that have been forced on the attention of school authorities, police agents, welfare workers, and industries. Cornelia D. Hopkins, *Mental Hygiene*, January, 1924, 83-86.

Scientific Methods of Studying Human Society. All modern science is essentially inductive in spirit; it proceeds from the facts to the theory, from particulars to universals. The three sources from which the scientific student shall get his facts are, first, from anthropology and ethnology; secondly, from written history; thirdly, from the observation and the collection of facts regarding present social life. Charles A. Ellwood, *Journal of Social Forces*, March, 1924, 328-332.

The Aims and Working of the International Labor Organization. The three primary functions of the International Labor Organization in pursuance of the aim of the League of Nations are, first, to fully prepare the ground for a simultaneous improvement in labor legislation, to place at the disposal of all the collective experience of mankind, and to stimulate within each national community methods of proceeding by the joint cooperative efforts of all organized interests concerned. B. H. Sumner, *Inter. Jour. of Ethics*, January, 1924, 157-174.

Religion as a Social Force. Until religious thinkers become socially minded and social workers are full of religious idealism there will be no real advance in human welfare. James P. Murray, *Journal of Social Forces*, March, 1924, 400-403.

The Origin and Development of Productive Industry. Our present industrial system, in so far as it involves forced labor for another's profit, is imperfect and unjust, and needs to be improved by an increasing measure of industrial freedom. I. W. Howerth, *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, March, 1924, 539-552.

The Effect of Science on Social Institutions. Science has not given men more self-control, more kindliness, or more power of discounting their passions in deciding upon a course of action. Whether, in the end, science will prove to have been a blessing or a curse to mankind is still a doubtful question. Bertrand Russell, *Survey*, April 1, 1924, 5-11.

Progress and Decay in Ancient and Modern Civilization. An undoubting faith in the inevitable victory of the forces of enlightenment and in the coming reign of Humanity, Liberty, and Progress, is disappearing in the world, due not to the World War chiefly, but to the rise of material prosperity. Christopher Dawson, *Sociological Review*, January, 1924, 1-11.

The Organization and Budget of a Health Department. Three essentials for successful health administration are expert officials, adequate funds, and favorable public opinion. A survey of 21 towns conducted by the Yale School of Medicine shows recent progress in the development of these essential factors. Ira V. Hiscock, *Amer. Jour. of Public Health*, March, 1924, 203-208.

The Reconstruction of Humanism. Is it too terrible a thing to say that today science is winning against man? It began as his servant, but it has come perilously near to being his master. If we are to be rescued from the results of our devilish ingenuity there has got to be found a new sort of teacher who will help us to rediscover ourselves, or the fact that personality is the central fact of all. The sociologist may be this new teacher. George B. Logan, *Journal of Social Forces*, March, 1924, 357-361.

Round Table Notes

THE RECENT death of James Sully in his 81st year removes a deep thinker from this life; he was one of the founders of the Sociological Society of England.

THE SOCIAL fact may be defined in a preliminary way as any fact that could not come to be at all save within a group or congregate form of life. Balz, *The Basis of Social Theory*, p. 38.

THE RISING tide of color is a good sign if it means, as it largely does, that the races which have been looked upon as non-adult are insisting upon being taken seriously. McConnell, *Living Together*, p. 218.

INSTEAD of abolishing associations as desired by Adam Smith, the weakness of the individual has driven him into corporations and unions, while governments have yielded and have granted to these associations sovereign powers and immunities from sovereign power, until they are far more powerful than those condemned by Adam Smith and the French Revolution. Commons, *Legal Foundations of Capitalism*, 386.

IF WAR is ever done away with, it will be because the view of the conscientious objector — like that of the abolitionist in antislavery movements — will become substantially the nucleus around which the more moderate sentiment crystallizes, the view, namely, that human life is so inherently sacred that it must not be poured out upon battlefields. McConnell, *Living Together*, p. 148.

ONE OF the latest developments in psychology, the intelligence tests, has in America been overrated as a means of passing judgment upon the unfortunate subjects who are tested. But this is not so important as the danger that these tests might be used — and in fact are being used, we believe, by certain people — not to advance science or in the scientific spirit, but for race discrimination and in the spirit of propaganda. Hexter and Myerson, *Mental Hygiene*, January, 1924, 82.